# THE BLACK PANTHER

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# HAPPY BIRTHDAY HUEY

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## Fund Raising Birthday Benefit for

# HUEY P. NEWTON

BY THE NEWTON-CLEAVER DEFENSE COMMITTEE

## Sunday, Feb. 16, Berkeley Community Theatre

BERKELEY HIGH SCHOOL AT GROVE & ALLSTON WAY **7:00 PM**

**Speakers:**

KATHLEEN CLEAVER
TOM HAYDEN
ATTORNEY CHARLES GARRY
FATHER EARL NEIL
RAY "MAASI" HEWETT _LA BPP·

**AND**

"A STATEMENT TO THE PEOPLE"
taped in prison by Huey P. Newton,
Minister of Defense Black Panther Party

**WITH:**

LE BALLET AFRO-HAITI
Rev. George Johnson & guitar
films: "Off the Pigs" & "Prelude to Revolution"
Baby Dee reading the poetry of Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter
Johnny Talbot & De Thangs

**Tickets: $\$2^{00}$ in advance $\$2^{50}$ at door**

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and: In The East Bay
Granma Bookstore 2509 Telegraph
Campus Smokeshop 2300 Telegraph
in San Francisco
More Bookstore 1435 Fillmore
Success Bookstore 540 McAllister



# IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE

## Exclusive . . . By HUEY NEWTON

### HUEY ON ANARCHISTS AND INDIVIDUALISTS AS RELATED TO REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AND THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT

We should understand there is a difference between the rebellion of the anarchists and the black revolution or liberation of the black colony.

This is a class society; it always has been. This reactionary class society places its limitations on individuals, not just in terms of their occupation, but also regarding self expression, being mobile, and being free to really be creative and do anything they want to do.

The class-society prevents this. This is true not only for the mass of the lower or subjugated class. It is also true within the ruling class, the master class. That class also limits the freedom of the individual souls of the people which comprise it.

In the upper class, the individuals always try to free themselves from these limitations — the artificial limitations placed upon him through external sources: namely, some hierarchy that goes by the name of State or Government Administration.

In America, we have not only a class society, we also have a caste system, and black people are fitted into the lowest caste. They have no mobility for going up the class ladder. They have no privilege to enter into the ruling structure at all.

Within the ruling class they're objecting (resisting?), because the people have found that they're completely subjected to the will of the administration and to the manipulators. This brings about a very strange phenomenon in American. That is, many of the rebelling white students and the anarchists are the offspring of this master class. Surely most of them have a middle class background and some even upper class. They see the limitations imposed upon them and now they're striving, as all men strive, to get freedom of the soul, Freedom of expression, and freedom of movement, without the artificial limitations from antique values.

Blacks and colored people in America, confined within the caste system, are discriminated against against as a whole group of people. It's not a question of individual freedom, as it is for the children of the upper classes. We haven't reached the point of trying to free ourselves individually because we're dominated and oppressed as a group of people.

Part of the people of this country — which is a great part — part of the youth themselves. But they're not doing this as a group of people. Because as a group they're already free to an extent. Their problem is not a group problem really, because they can easily integrate into the structure. Potentially they're mobile enough to do this: They're the educated ones, the "future of the country," and so forth. They can easily gain a certain amount of power over the society by integrating into the rulership circle.

But they see that even within the rulership circle there are still antique values that have no respect for individualism. They find themselves subjugated. No matter what class they're in they find themselves subjugated because of the nature of this class society. So their fight is to free the individual's soul.

This brings about another problem. They're being ruled by an alien source that has nothing to do with freedom of individual expression. They waant to escape this, to overturn this, but they see no need to form a structure or a real, disciplined vanguard movement. Their reasoning is that by setting up a disciplined organization they feel they'd be replacing the old structure with otehr limitations. They fear they'd be setting themselves up as directin- the people, therefore limiting the individual again.

But what they don't understand, or it seems that they don't understand, is as long as the military-industrial complex exists, then the structure of oppression of the individual continue. An individual would be threatened even if he were to achieve his freedom he's seeking. He'll be threatened because there will be an organized lower group there ready to strip him of his individual freedom at any moment.

In Cuba they had a revolution, they had a vanguard group that was a disciplined group, and they realized that the state won't disappear until imperialism is completely wiped out, structurally and also philosophically, or the bourgeouis thoughts won't be changed. Once imperialism is wiped out they can have their communist state and the state or territorial boundaries will disappear.

In this country the anarchists seem to feel that if they just express themselves individually and tend to ignore the limitations imposed on them, without leadership and without discipline they can oppose the very disciplined, organized, reactionary state. This is not true. They will be oppressed as long as imperialism exists. You cannot oppose a system such as this is to oppose it with organization that's even more extremely disciplined and dedicated than the structure you're opposing.

I can understand the anarchists wanting to go directly from state to non-state, but historically it's incorrect. As far as I'm concerned, thinking of the recent French Revolution, the reason the Frendh uprising failed is simply because the anarchists in the country, who by definition had no organization, had no people that were reliable enough as far as the mass of the people were concerned, to replace DeGaulle and his government. Now, the people were skeptical about the Communist Party and the other progressive parties, because they didn't side with the people of medium living. They lagged behind the people, so they lost the respect of the people, and the people looked for guidance from the students and anarchists.

But the anarchists were unable to offer a structural program to replace the DeGaulle government. So the people were forced to turn back to DeGaulle. It wasn't the people's fault; it was Cohn-Bendit's fault and all the other anarchists who felt they could just go from state to non-state.

In this country — getting back home to North America now — we can side with the student radicals. We would try to encourage them and persuade them to organize and weld a sharp cutting tool.

In order to do this they would have to be disciplined and they would have at least some philosophical replacement of the system. This is not to say that this itself will free the individual. The individual will not be free until the state does not exist at all, and I think — I don't want to be redundant — this cannot be replaced by the anarchists right away.

As far as the blacks are concerned, we are not hung up on attempting to actualize or express our individual souls because we're oppressed not as individuals but as a whole group of people. Our evolution, or our liberation, is based first on freeing our group. Freeing our group to a certain degree. After we gain our liberation, our people will not be free. I can imagine in the future that the blacks will rebel against the organized leadership that the blacks themselves have structured. They will see there will be limitations, limiting their individual selves, and limiting their freedom of expression. But this is only after they become free as a group.

This is what makes our group different from the white anarchist — besides he views his group as already free. Now he's striving for freedom of his individual self. This is the big difference. We're not fighting for freedom of our individual selves, we're fighting for a group freedom. In the future there will probably be a rebellion where blacks will say, "Well, our leadership is limiting our freedom, because of the rigid discipline. Now that we've gained our freedom, we will strive for our individualistic freedom that has nothing to do with organized group or state." And the group will be disorganized, and it should be.

But at this point we stress discipline, we stress organization, we do not stress psychedelic drugs, and all the other things that have to do with just the individual expansion of the mind. We're trying to gain true liberation of a group of people, and this makes our struggle somewhat different from the whites.

Now, how is it the same. It's the same in the fact that both of us are striving for freedom. They will not be free — the white anarchists will not be free — until we are free so that makes our fight their fight really. The imperialists and the bourgeois bureaucratic capitalistic system would not give them individual freedom while they keep a whole group of people based upon race color oppressed as a group.How can they expect to get individual freedom when the imperialists oppress whole nations of people? Until we gain liberation as a group they won't gain any liberation as an individual person. So this makes our fight the same, and we must keep this in perspective, and always see the similarities and the differences in it.

There's a tremendous amount of difference in it, and there's a due amount of similarities between the two cases. Both are striving for freedom, and both are striving for liberation of their people, only one is advanced to a degree higher than the other. The anarchists are advanced a step higher, but only in theory. As far as actuality of conditions, they shouldn't be advanced higher because they should see the necessity of wiping out the imperialistic structure by organized groups just as we must be organized.



"The Black Panther Party is a vanguard group leading the revolutionary struggle, playing a part in it, because this is world revolution: all colonized people are now resisting. To work as one of the administrators of this revolutionary action, you have to view yourself as an oxen to be ridden by the people. This is what the Black Panther Party teaches—that we should all carry the weight, and those who have extreme abilities will have to carry extremely heavy loads."

"A people who have suffered so much for so long at the hands of a racist society, must draw the line somewhere. We believe that the Black communities of America must rise up as one man to halt the progression of a trend that leads inevitably to their total destruction."

"When a mechanic wants to fix a broken-down car engine, he must have the necessary tools to do the job. When the people move for liberation, they must have the basic tool of liberation—the gun."

"When the oppressor makes a vicious attack against freedom fighters because of the way that such freedom fighters choose to go about their liberation, then we know we are moving in the direction of our liberation."

# Quotations From HUEY



"The only political power that I can see that we can build would be potentially destructive. It is not our choice to be destructive; we would like some other avenue to work through, but the country has left us no choice. So they've pushed us to the wall, and now we're coming off the wall with just what they asked for."

"Ron Karenga and some other nationalistic groups seem to be hung up on surviving Africanisms, or what we call cultural nationalism. Cultural nationalism deals with a return to the old culture of Africa and that we are somehow freed by identifying and returning to this culture, to the African cultural stage of the 1100's or earlier. Somehow they believe that they will be freed through identifying in this manner. As far as we are concerned, we believe that it's important for us to recognize our origins and identify with the revolutionary Black people of Africa and people of color throughout the world. But as far as returning, per se to the ancient customs, we don't see any necessity in this. And also, we say that the only culture that is worth holding is revolutionary culture—for change for the better."

"There is a world of difference between thirty million unarmed, submissive Black people and thirty million Black people armed with freedom and defense guns and the strategic methods of liberation."

"The Black Panther Party is a Black organization because we feel that we have a Black problem. Our problem is unity at this point. We have to unify among ourselves. We can handle the colony better than anyone else. We are a colonized people. Many Black communities are like decentralized colonies throughout this country. The white revolutionists realize that they're exploited politically and economically, more politically than anything else, but we (Black people) suffer from racism also. We have to man our own group to straighten out our own problems of Black people and Black colonies, and we welcome support."

The blood, sweat, tears and suffering of Black people are the foundation of the wealth and power of the United States of America. We were forced to build America, and if forced to, we will tear it down. The immediate result of this destruction will be suffering and bloodshed. But the end result will be perpetual peace for all mankind.

THIS PHOTO NOW AVAILABLE IN POSTER FORM

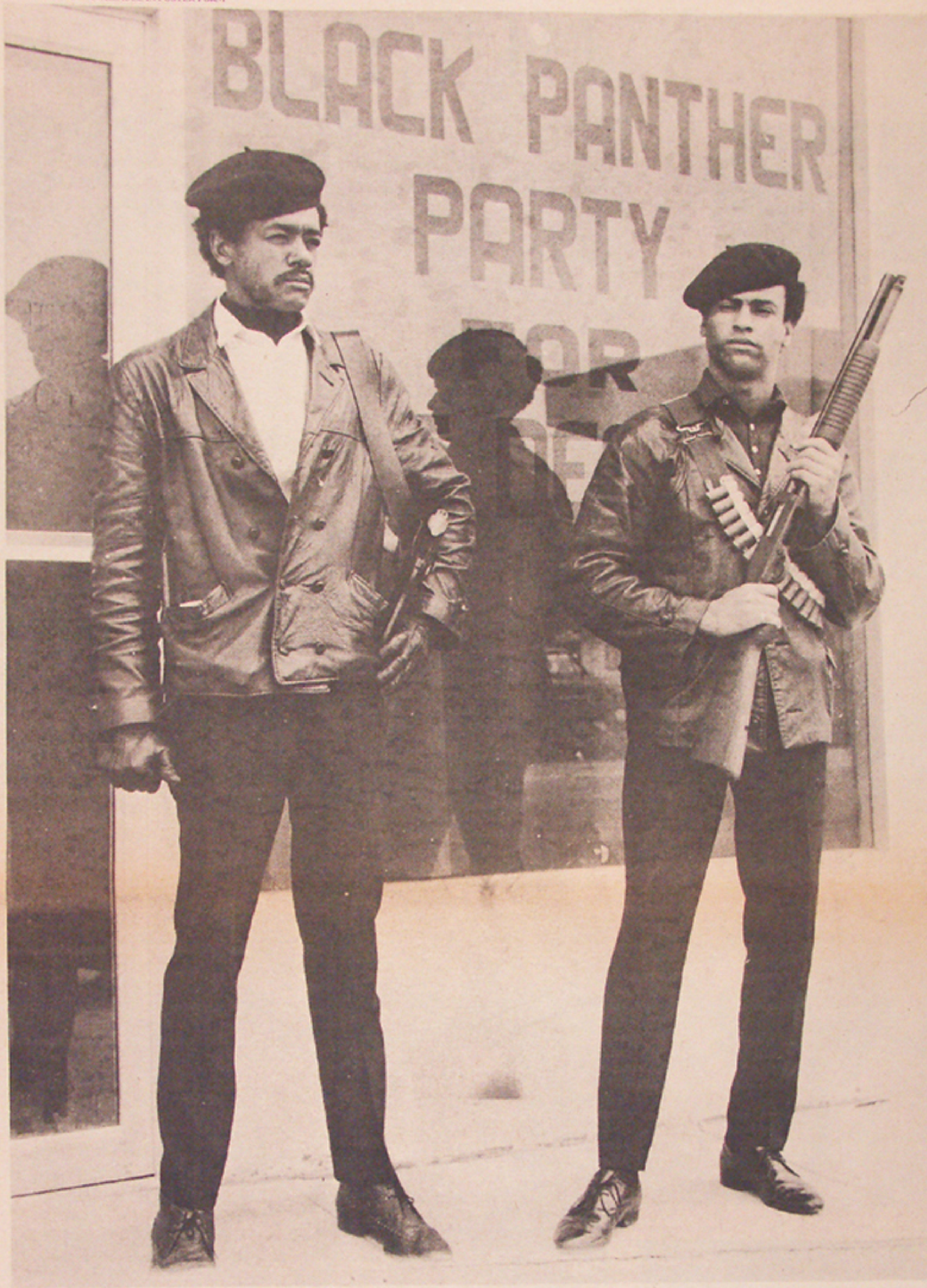



Photo Courtesy of San Francisco Examiner

"The main function of the party is to awaken the people and to teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure" . . .

HUEY NEWTON

"The BLACK PANTHER PARTY is going forth to make sure the desires and needs of the people are answered."

BOBBY SEALE

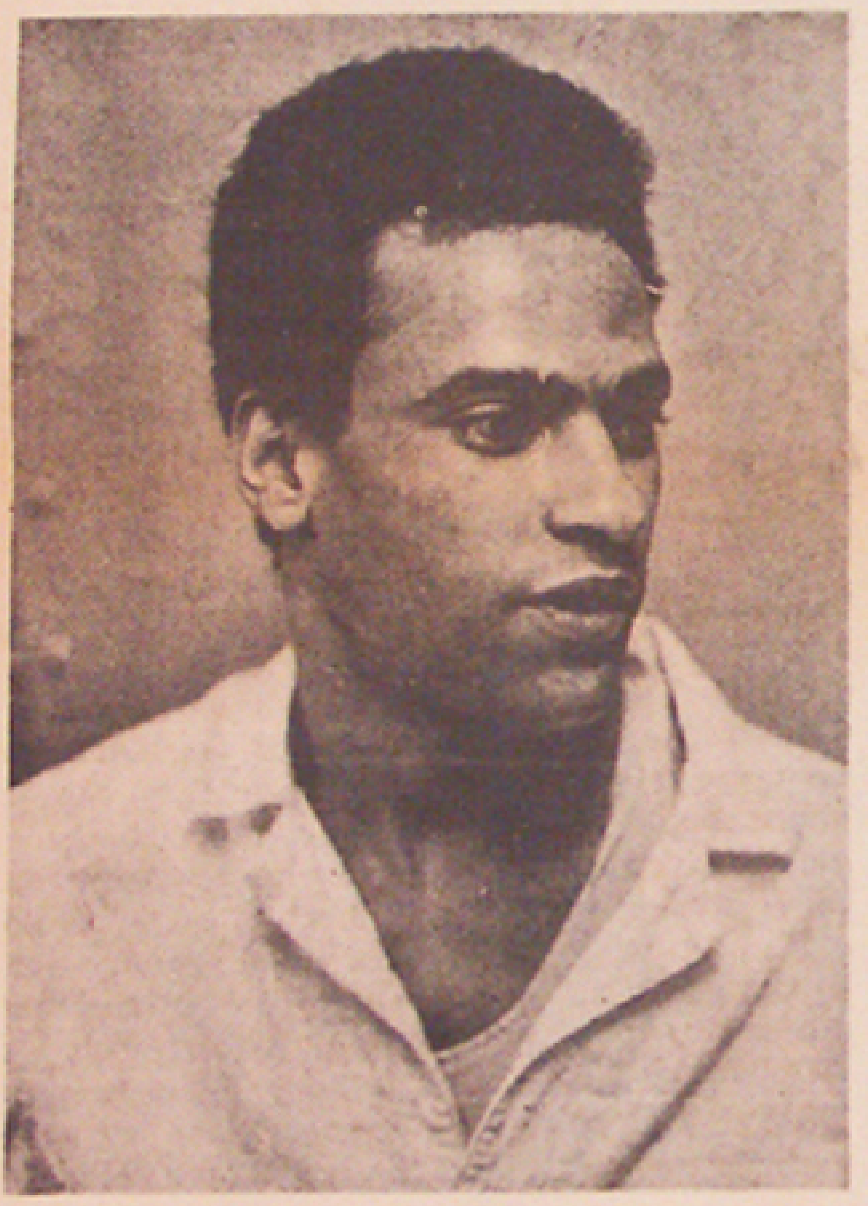
# HUEY



*FROM PRISON*



*FROM THE OUTSIDE*











# EARLY PANTHERS

Front – 'Lil' Bobby Hutton
Back (Left to Right) – Big Man, Huey, Lonell, Chairman Bobby



## Political Prisoner

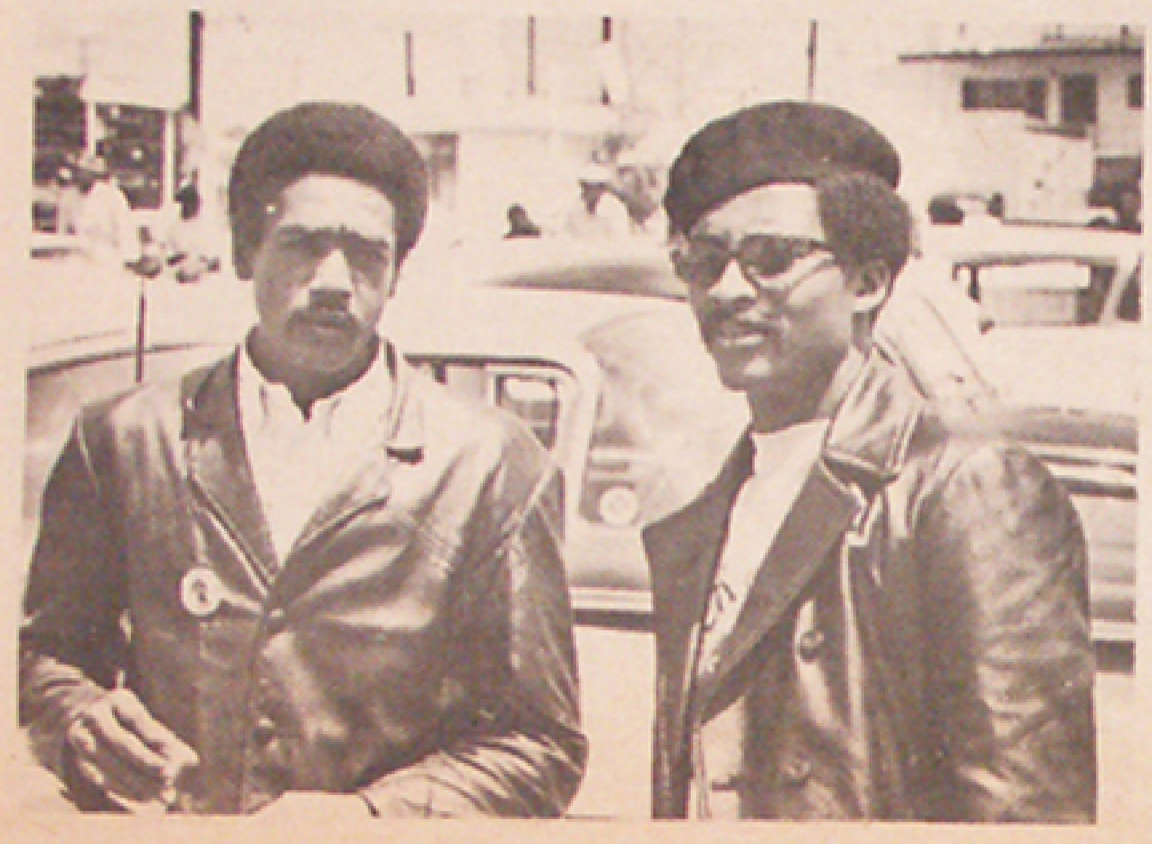
# "By Lifting Their Hands Against "Bunchy" And John They Lifted Their Hands Against The Best That Humanity Possesses"

To the Black Panther Party:

The family of Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter wishes to express their deep appreciation for a completely revolutionary and political representation of "their heart" and the hearts of the masses of Black people throughout Southern California and the people of the Third World Liberation Front.

The funeral procession was handled on a level by all Black people concerned to truly represent the love the revolutionary freedom fighter, Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter held for the Black masses. It brought to light the necessity, as Huey P. Newton, Eldridge Cleaver, and "Bunchy" Carter have always reiterated that our liberation struggle must be taken to a higher level. We must deal with the pig's oppressive, explotative power structure. No other great, forceful leaders must be ripped from the masses by the pork chop nationalist, pigs, bootlickers, etc. They must be dealt with in a political fashion by any means necessary.

Power to the People
Black Power to Black People
Panther Power to the Vanguard



Chairman Bobby And Bunchy



John Jerome Huggins

# LAST STATEMENT BY JOHN HUGGINS

## Deputy Minister of Information, So. Calif.

### LOS ANGELES PANTHERS INTENSIFY

The Black Panther Party, So. California chapter, in compliance with the directive of the Central Committee of the Black Panther, has moved to purge this chapter's ranks of provocature agents, kook, and avarious fools.

We were lucky to have caught and expelled this harmful element before it was allowed to surface and do more harm to the party and the people. Already these agents and fools had alienated potential panthers as well as the masses from the actual work of the Party. We must learn from these examples and tighten up!

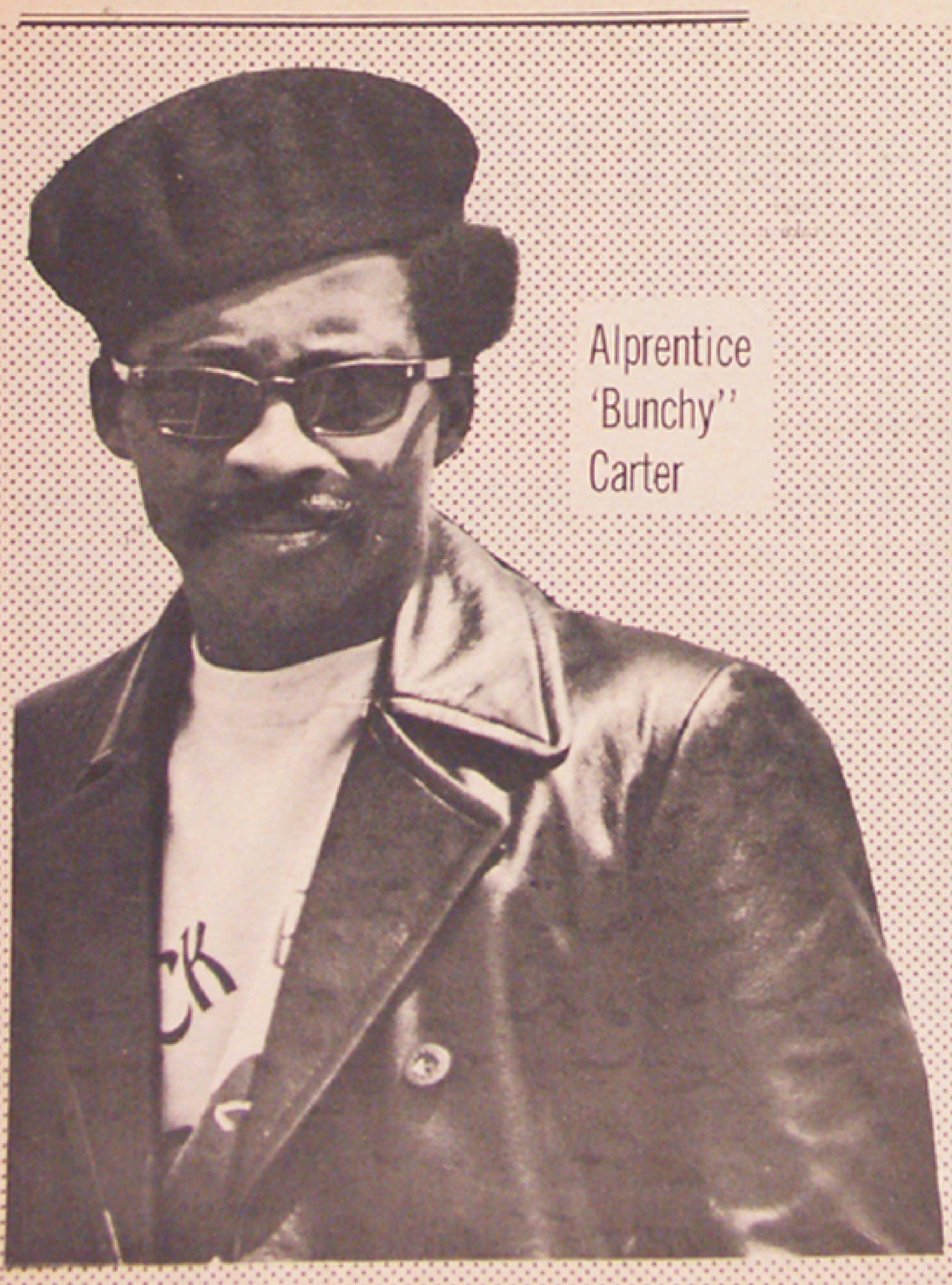
The role of the Black Panther Party as the Vanguard of the Black Liberation Struggle is not to be confused with a mass political party. We do not expect the entire black community to join the party but with a hard core of dedicated, disciplined, revolutionary freedom fighters we wjll be able to take care of business and educate the people by our example.

We have never stated that the Black Panther Party was a perfect organization but with the tools of criticism and self-criticism we can correct our mistakes and work towards perfection. We must condemn those who would irresponsibly criticize the revolutionary people and not join the struggle against incorrect views for the liberation of the people.

There are no individual hang-ups, habits or mistaken views which we cannot destroy when they harm the peoples just

Raise the Battle Cry:
Intensity

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD



Alprentice 'Bunchy'' Carter



Eldridge And Bunchy Were Long-Time Friends

# STUDENT NURSE TORTURED

NEW YORK -- The last time there was a Panther-pig confrontation in a New York city courtroom, 200 off-duty cops attacked the Panthers and their supporters in the corridors. There was a flurry of comment in the press and talk from Mayor Lindsay's cool-it command, but the D.A.'s office hasn't gotten around to "Investigating" the incident, and no one expects that they will in the forseeable future.

On Wed., Jan. 22, a young woman was brought to court already beaten.

New York City police say that Joan Bird, a 19 year-old nursing student, Lumumba Shakur and Claude Squire, conspired to murder police on the night of Fri., Jan. 19. No pigs were injured.

Joan Bird's friends say that she was the victim of "one of the most brutal beatings imaginable" and her face, which appeared bruised and swollen even from the back of the courtroom on Wed., lent substance to their story.

According to their account, Joan Bird was sitting in a disabled car, near the scene of an alleged sniper attack on police cruising in their patrol car along Harlem River Drive on Friday evening. The police seized her at about 9 p.m., threatened to kill her, and hauled her into the stationhouse.

When her mother saw her at 4 a.m., Joan Bird bore the marks of a severe beating and stomping. The pigs had dangled her by the ankles from a third floor window, and told her she'd "hit the pavement" if she didn't give the details of the "conspiracy". (Her ankle was sprained in the process.)

In the early hours of Sat., Claude Squire was arrested on a charge of conspiracy to murder, and possession of a dangerous drug (the police said they found a joint on him).

On Sat. afternoon, Lumumba Shakur went to the police station with Arthur Turco, one of Joan Bird's lawyers, who was inquiring into her continued detention without charges. Lumumba Shakur was quickly surrounded by cops and asked if he knew Joan Bird, when he answered yes, he was arrested on a conspiracy to murder charge.

Late Sat. afternoon, Joan Bird appeared before a judge, and the prosecuting attorney asked that a $50,000 bond be set for Joan as a material witness. When her attorney objected to that procedure, Joan was arrested on a charge of conspiracy to commit murder. When Turco called the charge "illusory," since the "conspiracy" was to commit an act allegedly already perpetrated, the prosecution added charges of attempted murder and felonious assault.

At 11 p.m. on Saturday night, the three defendants were brought into court, and Joan Bird's friends saw that the footprints from the pig stomping were still on her coat.

Attorneys Jerry Lefcourt and Arthur Turco asked to file a cross-complaint against Officer Roland McKenzie for felonious assault on Joan Bird, and at some point, Judge Aloyius Archibald commented, "A complaint is in order."

Then a police chief explained that Joan's injuries were sustained when she "fell out of the car" when the cops first took her into custody, and that he had been present throughout her questioning. After Lefcourt and Turco moved that the chief be charged with conspiracy, there was a brief recess.



JOAN BIRD

When the recess was over, the judge had changed his mind about the complaints against the cops.

Bail for each was set at $20,000.

After their perfunctory appearance in court Wednesday, Lumumba Shakur and Claude Squire were brought back to the Tombs, and Joan Birds was returned to the Women's House of Detention which sounds less harrowing, but really isn't. They'll be there until their hearing on Wednesday, Jan. 29, unless their friends can raise money for bail, or their attorneys are able to get them out earlier on a writ. They are being defended by William Kunstler, Jerry Lefcourt and Arthur Turco.

The following is Joan Bird's account of what happened to her:

I, Joan Bird, being duly sworn deposes and says:

That I am 19 years of age, and presently a student at Bronx Community College.

That on Friday evening, January 17, 1969, at about nine-o'clock P.M., I was in a car on Harlem River Drive, New York City, that was approached by police without any provocation. Guns were fired and I remained in the car that was being fired upon. I did not participate in the gun fire. Then one of the police told me to "crawl out of that car bitch", so I proceeded to do as instructed. Then, Patrolman McKenzie said "Let me take this, -bitch you better tell me the truth". At this point Mc Kenzie and another dragged me by my arms, while on the ground on my back. McKenzie then with a short black club beat me across my face and head, at which point I became dizzy, I also noticed that my mouth was bleeding.

At this time they put handcuffs on me and turned me over face down to the ground and my hands cuffed behind me. Then they began to kick me and walk on my back and legs. Then McKenzie put a gun to my head and stated "I ought to kill you, you mother fucker" then proceeded to take my right hand fingers and bend them back and said "you better talk or I'll break your fingers." I screamed. Then they were all talking about how they should take me to the woods in the park and shoot me, and nobody would know the difference. I screamed. Then McKenzie and another picked me up and put me into a car.

On the way to the station house, at about 160th Street and Edgecomb Avenue, McKenzie got out of the car and stopped a black man, and searched him, then put the black man in the car and we proceeded to the 34th precinct. Then we entered the station house, with the black man. I never saw this man before and I do not know his name, and I never saw him again.

Then I sat downstairs for about 5 minutes, seated facing the wall, then I was taken upstairs to another room, filled with what I believed to be plainclothes police. At this time, a tall white plainclothes policeman told me, "unless I tell the truth, I will take you upstairs and throw you out the window and it will look like suicide." this person also stated during the evening that "I will stick this size 10 up your cunt until it comes out your throat if you don't stop this bullshitting."

Also, during the evening, a short, white plainclothes policeman with beige suede shoes, or short boots on, said, "I'd better say that the others with me beat me up or that I tripped." Then on the way to an erroneous address I gave them, the cop who stated he would use his "size 10" stated, "I'm a bastard and unless you tell the truth I'll show you how much of a bastard I can be."

After we returned to the station from the erroneous address, at about 3:30 A.M., a white, short, heavy-set plainclothes policeman with black rim glasses called me "bitch" and pushed me against the wall and threatened me with his fist closed, and I screamed, and he said, "you better shut up, or I'll punch your face in some more." At this time, about 4:00 A.M., I screamed for my mother, and they let her come in, they did not do anything to me after that point.

They never asked me if I needed medical attention nor did they allow me to call my attorney. I was not placed under arrest, until 19 hours later. I was told I was being held as a material witness, and they were going to let me go home with my mother. They took me to court at about 12.00 PM. the next day after being held all night. I was still not under arrest.

I finally got to see my attorney, Mr. Arthur F. Turco, Jr., when he arrived at court, 100 Centre Street, N.Y., at about 3:30 PM Saturday. He demanded to see me in private, at which time I told him what had happened to me. Then we were called into the courtroom, at which time the Assistant D.A. asked that I be held in 50,000 dollars bail as a material witness, because my life was in danger. Mr. Turco objected to the bail and demanded my immediate release, it was now 19 hours I was being held, he also questioned by whom my life would be in danger by, the police or my own black people? At this time, the judge called both, my attorney and the D.A. to the bench, and he suggested since he could not hold me as a witness that the D.A. should arrest me, which he then did. I was not arraigned until 26 hours after I was picked up.

# Des Moines Panthers

The Black Panther Party in Des Moines is facing serious political repression. Three of the Panthers have been indicted by the Grand Jury for arson on two counts.

The indictments were issued for Charles Knox, 24, Black Panther Party organizer; JoeAnn Cheatom, 45, chairman of the Des Moines Welfare Rights Organization and Panther Party member; and her son, Marvin, 16, Panther member. Bond was set at $20,000 for each of them.

There is no evidence to support this charge. The case is based on the "so-called confessions" of two Negro traitors from Waterlóo, Iowa, who implicated the three from Des Moines. They had recently been convicted on a robbery charge in Waterloo and it seems likely that some kind of a deal was made.

The arson charges are obviously a frameup to stop the organizing efforts of the Panthers. The Panthers began organizing in Des Moines in the summer of 1968. They have organized in the black community around the issue of police brutality, informing black people of their rights in the face of police harassment, setting up a defense committee to help provide lawyers for the community and serving the community in many ways. In September of '68 they helped organize a high school walkout in the city and waged a struggle against the racist school board.

The Des Moines cops have recently been reprimanded for failing to solve crimes, there is an anti-riot bill before the City Council, racist feelings have been whipped up by the recent murder of a young white girl by a black man whom the cops falsely identified as a Panther.

So, on December 27, the cops raided the Panther headquarters with search warrants listing molotov cocktails, etc. Instead, they stole personal property, broke into Knox' room, taking papers, a brief-case and some tapes.

This attempt on the part of the cops and their rulers to smash the efforts of those who seek to raise people's consciousness is being met with sharp resistance.

The people must now rise up and sweep away the establishment that perpetuates social inequity and financial domination.

# All Panthers Beware

A brother dressed as a Black Panther entered the central office of the Illinois Black Panther Party, stated his name, Derek Phemster, and said he was from San Francisco and had direct orders from Bobby Seale and David Hilliard. He asked to speak to the Officer of the Day privately.



DEREK PHEMSTER

REPORT GIVEN BY
OFFICER OF THE DAY:

Derek Phemster told the Officer of the Day that he had called our office and left word with someone that he was coming over. We checked it out and no one in the office had knowledge of such a call. He said he was Minister of Information for an underground organization of Black Panthers in Indianapolis, Indiana. He also stated that he had received a letter from Bobby Seale and David Hilliard authorizing him to come to Chicago and order the Black Panther Party underground. Phemster said we should have received a letter ordering us underground. He was told a letter of this nature was never received.

Derek Phemster told the Officer of the Day he had been in Chicago four days working with the main twenty-one of the Blackstone Rangers. He said he had their phone numbers, addresses and other information on all of them.

Deputy Minister of Defense Bob Rush came out of his office and was introduced to Derek Phemster. A call was then made to the coast to check on any such orders. The response: The above mentioned was never heard of by anyone on the coast.



FBI INFORMER

REPORT GIVEN BY CAPTAIN OF SECURITY, WILLIAM O'NEAL:

Derek Phemster was then taken into custody by the Security Department headed by Captain William O'Neal. He was then searched again and all material was xeroxed and read thoroughly and he was again interrogated verbally. There were no results other than statements made earlier. A call was then made to Indiana to check out all information he had given but the results were negative.

We then went into a more intense stage of questioning. We then used methods which proved very effective. He then started to make sense in his statements. We then recovered papers stating he was once an in-for the F.B.I. We took into consideration that he was still doing so. After about three and a half hours of interrogation, he then admitted all charges of dismissal from the Black Panther Party in Indiana because of informing. This information was discovered approximately 8:35 p.m. He was released and followed by Captain Alvino Shinn. He was last seen heading west on 83rd Street.



# Panther Maced In Maryland Bus Terminal

On Christmas Eve, 1968, in the Continental Trailways Terminal in Baltimore a member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY --, Lieut. Zeke Boyd -- was sprayed in the eyes with chemical MACE by two private security officers in the employ of Continental Trailways Inc. The reason: Lieut. Boyd was distributing literature to the public describing the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, its goals, its beliefs. He spent a portion of Christmas Eve in Central Police Headquarters pending the posting of $1200.00 bail. The charges: disorderly conduct and resisting arrest.

It seems that the officers approached Lieut. Boyd and began questioning him as to his purpose for being there and his identity. Lieut. Boyd requested that these officers identify themselves (as is the right of every citizen) and that they tell him on whose authority they were interrogating him (also the right of every citizen). The officers failed to properly identify themselves and give Lieut. Boyd sufficient reason for his remaining under interrogation. Because Lieut. Boyd had NOT violated any law and because these officers would not properly identify themselves, Lieut. Boyd went about his business distributing his literature. As he was leaving the officers, one of them physically spun Lieut. Boyd around -- WITHOUT PROVOCATION -- and sprayed him in his eyes with CHEMICAL MACE. (MACE has been proven to be capable of blinding a person, permanently.)

Lieut. Boyd -- blinded and paralyzed -- fell to the floor of the terminal. The Baltimore City Police were called and carried Mr. Boyd to jail, where he was charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest.

Both of these charges are outright lies. Mr. Boyd behaved in an orderly manner and certainly didn't resist arrest; he was paralyzed by MACE and incapable of resisting anyone. Furthermore, these private officers have no legal right to arrest anyone, much less a person not guilty of breaking any law.

THIS TYPE OF INJUSTICE PERFORMED BY PRIVATE AND PUBLIC POLICE FORCES MUST CEASE. FOR NO CITIZEN IS SAFE WITH PERSONS SUCH AS THESE OFFICERS DISGUISING THEIR SICK PERSONALITIES IN THE UNIFORMS OF LAW-ENFORCERS, WALKING THE STREETS.

# Maced By "Negro" Security Guard

"Every Negro is a potential traitor, every black man must be a revolutionary."

On December 24, 1968, I was sprayed in the face with a riot control chemical which a doctor at Johns Hopkins Hospital called Mace. The person who did this to me was a Negro security guard. His actions condemn him as a traitor to both the principles of justice, and against his own people.

However, I don't hold him to be completely at fault for his actions, because he is a product of the values that are taught in racist decadent america. This pig (a policeman is a pig when he fails to treat other human beings with respect) places value on VIOLENCE against other human beings. When in fact he should live up to his obligation to act as a servant of the people -- thereby winning the trust and confidence of the people. All the people.

The Black Panther Party stands for helping all people, and since the Black peoples of america are the most disadvantaged, the most oppressed and the most exploited, The Black Panther Party addresses itself first and foremost to creating workable solutions to the problems of Black People. We are not a violent organization, however if violence is used against us, we will respond by meeting violence with violence. We do not intend to have our people exterminated by racist pigs who have no respect for human life. These oppressive dogs use one type of violence against us and since they are working with the basically corrupt news media, they condemn us for protecting ourselves from THEIR violence.

Brothers, there are two types of violence, violence that is used against you to keep you in a particular place, usually on the bottom, this can be called aggression. The second type of violence is the type that is used to protect yourself from the racist, cowardly dogs who are trying to keep you oppressed, this can be called self-defense. The Black Panther Party stands for the protection of Black People through self defense against any Black traitor, or White oppressor. END.

ZEKE BOYD

# Pig Commits Murder --Panther Blamed

Jake Ehrlich, lawyer for pig Michael O'Brien, has decided to shift the blame for the murder of George Baskett onto the Black Panther Party. Ehrlich is attempting to indict the Black Panther Party because one of the star prosecution witnesses allegedly lives next door to a Panther.

Ehrlich is trying to say that it is more of a crime to live next door to a Panther than it is to kill a Black man. The racist attitude of Ehrlich was even more apparent when he stated that because he has defended Black people without receiving cash compensation, he wouldn't take any back talk out of "them." Ehrlich made this remark when Richard Brown, a Black Panther, objected to being called "boy" by Ehrlich. Brown is in his mid-twenties.

Ehrlich wants to discredit the testimony of David Anderson, a white student, who lives above Brown's former place of residence, but Ehrlich has no objection to using the testimony of some of O'Brien's fellow pigs in attempt to maneuver freedom for a pig who has murdered a Black man. This is how justice is perverted in the American court. Justice is allowed to remove her blindfold long enough to see the color of the concerned parties and then she tilts her scales towards the white man.

The West Oakland Legal Switchboard has sent an angry telegram to the Oakland School Board denouncing the deplorable tactics used to deny Black students and parents a swift and just hearing for suspensions and expulsions.

The seemingly deliberate lengthy period between suspension and hearing does irreparable damage to students academically, according to the Switchboard.

The West Oakland Legal Switchboard has been providing emergency legal services since August to arrested persons in the Bay Area. Increasing conflict in the schools has demonstrated the need for expanded legal services for minority students who have been disciplined by school authorities. Concerened parents may call 836-3013 for further information.



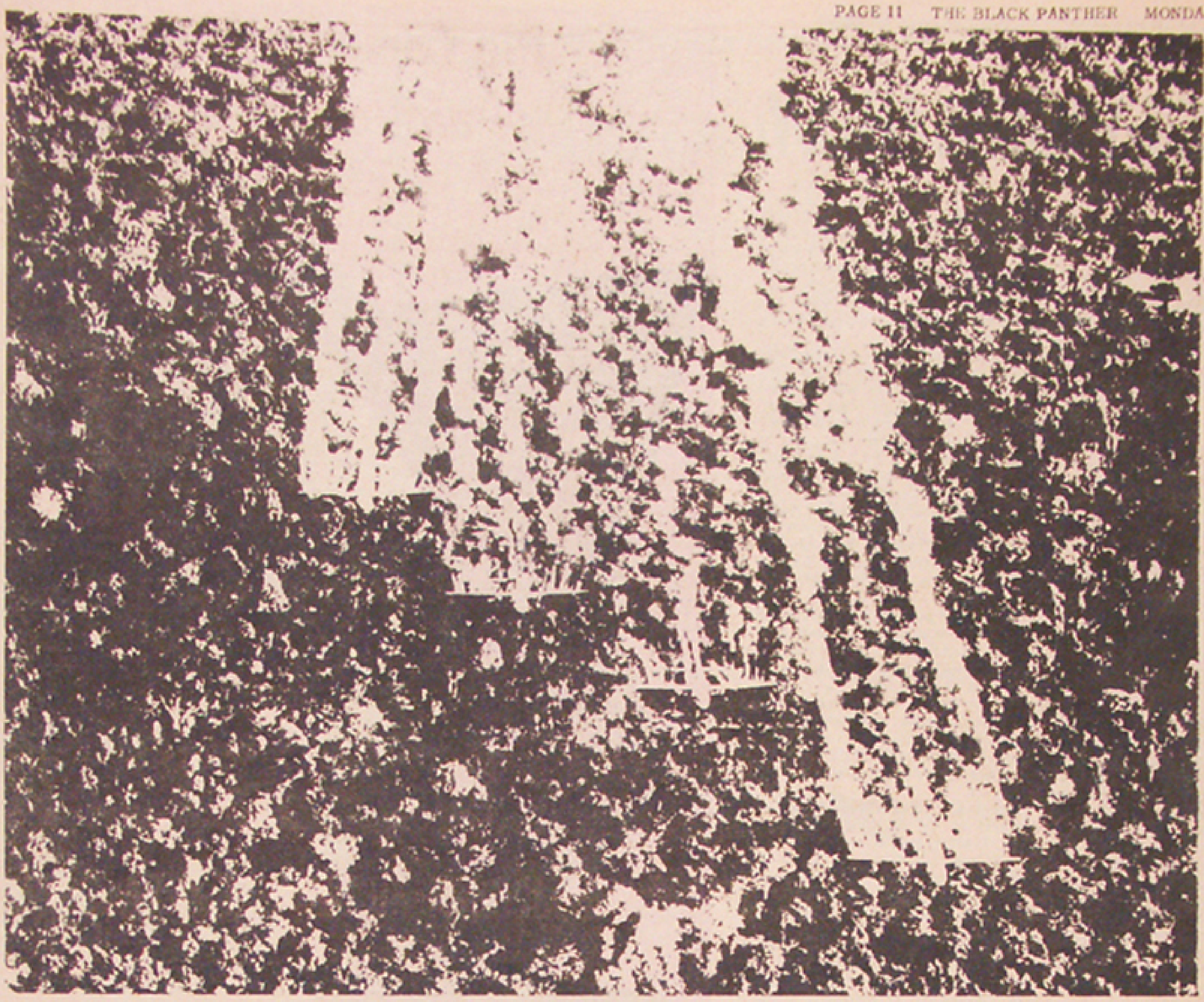

# US Provokes Panther

US the Black special agents for the L. A. pig department were on their job Monday at the L.A. pig station. A member of the Black Panther Party by the name of "Blue" was on his way to keep a court date along with brother Banks when they were approached by a number of members of the US group. These pork chop punks were under orders from their masters to intensify their efforts to destroy the Panthers.

These US punks threatened to kill the Panther brother. Only a pig would threaten to kill a person in a pig Department. The Black Panther Party sees these acts as mere provocation. The US organization has been assigned to wipe out the leadership of the Black Panther Party. In order to destroy the Panther leadership one has to be sharp. The Panthers know that Ron Karenga and the US group not only are fools; but the most dangerous kind of fools.

After failing to lure the Panthers L.A. leaders into some kind of trap, the L.A. pig department called up the Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party. A pig, Sergeant Brown, asked David Hilliard to come to L.A. to confirm that Alprentice Carter and John Huggins were in the leadership of the Black Panther Party Chapter in L.A. The pigs know damn well who was in the leadership of that Chapter. They claimed they are not getting any cooperation from the Black Panther Party concerning the murder of John and "Bunchy."

The Panthers did not kill John and Bunchy. It is not Panther policy to form any kind of relationship with Pigs. If the pigs want to use this as a basis to release the two niggers that they are holding for the killing of Bunchy and John, the Black Panthers says "Right On." This means the people in the community will have their chance to avenge the murder of their two liberation fighters much sooner.



SPREADING POISON GAS AND TOXIC CHEMICALS

Defying world-wide protests, U.S. aggressors have stepped up their use of poison gas and toxic chemicals which the German and Japanese fascists dared not use openly. Thousands of innocent south Vietnamese have become victims of this act of savagery.

## Gas Warfare

UNITED NATIONS -- Cambodia yesterday accused South Vietnamese - U.S. forces of spraying poisonous chemicals over its territory, damaging the health of civilians and destroying crops.

In a letter to the Security Council, the Cambodian government reported numerous border incidents early in January and called on the U.S. and South Vietnamese governments to put an end to "such acts."

The letter alleged that on January 4, three helicopters of the U.S. - South Vietnamese forces scattered over the border province of Svay Rieng "a poisonous powder which fell as a result of the prevailing wind near the Cambodian villages of Taboth and Prey Chidaun, causing serious health damage to the inhabitants.

## Hanoi Hannah

HANOI -- The Vietnam woman who broadcasts from North Vietnam to American troops, trying to convince them to leave her people in peace, is a cheery 30-year-old mother of two who rides to work on a bicycle. She is named Thu Huong, which means Autumn Fragrance, though some Americans like to call her Hanoi Hannah. An article about Thu Huong appeared recently in Verde Olive, a Cuban Army journal. She was quoted as saying: "I take a great interest in speaking to these men who are fighting my people. They did not ask to come here. They were sent to fight in aggressive war against a people who are struggling for their liberty and independence. I also want it known that the Vietnamese people do not feel hatred for the United States."

## Fourth Anniversary of Assifa Commandos Armed Struggle

January 1 was the fourth anniversary of the armed struggle of the "Al Assifa" forces led by "Al Fatah" (the Palestine National Liberation Movement). In Baghdad, a parade and mass rally took place in a revolutionary and militant atmosphere to observe this occasion. Iraqis at the rally shouted over and over: "Revolution, revolution till final victory!" Meanwhile at their fighting post, the "Al Assifa" commandos used victories over the Israeli aggressors to greet this day. From December 30 to January 1, they mounted more than ten attacks every day on the enemy. Many important Israeli military positions were destroyed and large numbers of Israeli aggressors were killed or wounded.

"Al Fatah" started its armed struggle against Israeli Zionism and for the liberation of Palestine on January 1, 1965, when its commando unit "Al Assifa" was established and fought the first battle on that day at Laboune reservoir near the town of Tiberias in the northern part of occupied Palestine. "Al Assifa" had only fifteen commandos with one machinegun and thirty hand grenades in that battle. But hundreds of engagements during the last four years have enabled its forces to become even stronger. Their operations now extend to every part of occupied Palestine.

"Al Fatah" released a statistical report in Cairo on January 1. It said that in the past four years' operations a total of 3,650 Israeli soldiers and 44 officers were killed by "Al Assifa" commando forces. "Al Assifa" forces also destroyed 658 Israeli military vehicles, 57 motor-cars, 40 oil installations, 40 ammunition depots, 74 troop centers, 23 power installations, 2 factories, 4 military trains, 16 planes, 70 outposts, 3 wireless stations and 59 water installations.

Marking the fouth anniversary of the armed struggle of the "Al Assifa" forces, the Iraqi paper AL-NUR said in a commentary that "the Palestinian people had found the correct road which will lead them to victory. 'Al Fatah' pioneered this road, the road of armed struggle which brooks no false solutions, does not recognize the so-called peaceful solution and knows only the gun as the sole means to achieve victory."

## Thai Guerrillas

PEKING (LNS) -- Recent dispatches to LNS from the Peking office of the Patriotic Front of Thailand point to new victories of guerrilla forces in Thailand against the U.S. - support regime of Prime Minister Thanom.

The dispatches specified that in 1968 the guerrillas were in 580 battles, killing and wounding about 1,000 enemies and capturing a large among the military material.

The Voice of the Thai People radio in Bangkok said: "Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Thailand, the people's armed forces and people in various regions applying the strategy and tactics of people's war elucidated by Chairman Mao Tsi-tung flexibly and heroically carry out their fighting and have repeatedly won victories."

## Revolutionary Action In Italy

The Italian workers' struggle against ruthless exploitation and oppression by the monopoly capitalist class has surged forward this year. Recently, in the wake of the general strikes by millions of workers in more than 30 provinces, 12,000,000 workers held a nationwide 24-hour general strike which was followed by regional strikes by millions of workers in Rome and other districts. These massive strikes repeatedly paralyzed many provinces, cities or regions, fully manifesting the mighty strength of the Italian working-class.

The Italian farm labourers' struggle against cruel exploitation by landlords and capitalists, against the government's agricultural policy and for a change of their miserable lots is also mounting. More than 1,500,000 farm workers went on a nationwide general strike in late September. Over 30,000 small landholders came to Rome from various parts of the country to hold impressive demonstrations. In south Italy and other economically backward districts, farm labourers have strikes and demonstrations.

The revolutionary mass movement in Italy has developed this year on an unprecedented scale and with an intensity unknown before. By means of strikes, demonstrations, occupation of factories and schools as blockade of traffic centers, the Italian people have valiantly challenged the "law and order" of the bourgeoisie. Meeting bourgeois violence with revolutionary violence, they time and again battle with the police heroically and strenuously. In Rome, Milan, Genoa, Venice, Trieste, Pisa and many other cities as well as in Sicily, Sardinia and other districts, students, workers and small landholders again and again built street barricades and fought against fully armed policemen with rocks and sticks.

## Manifesto of the American Deserter's Committee

Montreal, Quebec
December 15, 1968

We, American Deserters living in Montreal, in opposition to the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam, have banded together to form the American Deserters Committee.

We deserters and associates view outselves as an integral part of the world-wide movement for fundamental social change. We express support and solidarity with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the black liberation struggle at home. We are prepared to fight side by side with anyone who wants to bring fundamental social change to the U.S.

Our aim is to help U.S. Deserters and draft resisters gain a more political outlook toward their own actions -- to show them that desertion and draft resistance are in fact political moves. Forced to live our lives as political exiles, we view ourselves as victims of the same oppression as the Vietnamese and the American people, not only the minority groups, but also the broad masses of American people who are becoming more aware of the need for change.

We will work to develop the political consciousness of American Deserters and to form a well educated and determined group which will have a clear understanding of U.S. internal and international policies, especially those which affect Canada and Quebec.

We express solidarity with our fellow servicemen who are still in the military, and as yet are unable to resist actively. We will do all in our power to help all those who resist in the same way -- DESERT.

We recognize U.S. imperialism as the greatest threat to the progress of freedom and self-determination for all people, and view desertion as the most effective way to resist.

American Deserters Committee
% P.O.B. 611, Station H
Montreal 25, Quebec, Canada

## Japanese Oppose U.S. Treaty

TOKYO -- Seventy per cent of the Japanese people are in some form or another opposed to the Japan-U. S. security treaty, according to a public opinion poll taken by Asahi Shimbun, Tokyo's most influential commercial daily.

# PRIEST VISITS HUEY

by Rev. Gus Taylor, Jr.

Special to the
National Catholic Reporter

OAKLAND— It was rather clear, that day in September when I approached the white-faced Alameda county jail. I didn't know quite what to expect — of the sheriff, or of Huey (if I would get to see him) or of my own reaction.

My mind was hazy about the facts of Huey's case. A carfull of police (locally called "pigs") stopped a car of Black Panthers. Words and shots ensued. One policeman was killed, another wounded. Two Black Panthers were wounded, one of whom was Huey Newton (founder of the Panthers) who was accused of murder.

One thing was true and will be true right on into eternity. The police hated the Panthers in general and Huey in particular. The feeling was quite mutual.

I happened to be a black priest, visiting the Bay Area. Talk of Huey and his fate seemed to fill Oakland, Berkeley, Frisco, the nation. Strangely enough, I felt what happened to him happens to Black Everyman. Visiting him, it was like visiting myself in jail.

How would Huey take me, a black Catholic priest, serving quite obviously under a white power structure, pope and bishop and all? Had he read what we black priests observed in a Caucus — that "the Catholic church in the United States is primarily a white racist institution, has addressed itself primarily to white society and is definitely a part of that society"?

These were the thoughts that crossed my mind as I rode the elevator to the jail on the 10th floor of the courthouse building. Then, too, would the sheriff allow our meeting?

Surprisingly, clergy credentials were sufficient for the sheriff to grant the visit. So I waited in a small glassed-in room for Huey to be "delivered." I expected an angry and bitter young man, probably because I would have been such in his case. I expected a suspicious mien, defensive air and little initiative to sustain a conversation with me. In short, the case and all its details made me await a man uptight and in a state of siege.

After a few minutes, a medium sized, 26-year-old, reddish-brown skinned lad appeared, wearing a white uniform. As the deputy left him at the door, he smiled warmly and shook my hand like I was an old buddy. He told me that he expected the visitor to be his attorney, since few individuals are allowed private sit-down sessions with jail "guests" (and especially with him, I thought).

Every great once-in-a-while in a person's life, he meets someone who is CLEAR. It's hard to define a clear person. It's somewhat like that September day on which we visited.

As one thing led to another in our conversation, several items emerged. I was encountering a person who was really at peace, at one with himself. He wasn't smoldering beneath the skin, repressing his hatred against the Man, the "pig," mankind in general. If anything at all, he smoldered with a rare, almost uncanny understanding of the black movement, himself, and the racist society that put him there.

"We're against the oppressor," he said, "whether he be white or black."

He spoke about his friendship with Stokely Carmichael and how the Panthers had "drafted" Stokely away from SNCC to be their prime minister at large.

He went on in detail about the shoot-out, and about the injustices of the trial.

He explained to me the 10-point program of black liberation. "We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people" is Point No. 7 and first on their agenda for implementation.

There wasn't a bit of self-pity in Newton. Somehow his speech revealed how he transcended all the things he had to endure. Many times he must have cried within himself. Yet he didn't let his load get the best of him. One could tell that his body was jailed, but his spirit was free.

Over and beyond all worry for himself it was most obvious that the future of the black movement was his overriding concern. Black people must one day be free . . . Black people must one day be free. Freedom won't come automatically. It must come through a radical program of liberation. And the Black Panthers was one party with such a program.

Above all, Huey Newton revealed himself to me as fully a man, a man standing high among men. He didn't look backwards or dwell in the past. Instead, he continued to dream dreams and see visions of liberation one day — and he shared them with me.

Somewhat clumsily, I blurted how I empathize with him and how I see out of his eyes, and that, so far as I was concerned, it mattered little whether or not he was actually guilty of killing — because I so well understood the situation, considering the backdrop of the whole black-white absurdity. (And besides, Huey was I and I was Huey and Huey became Black Everyman in my eyes.)

Huey laughed with me at my empathy. "I sure appreciate your feeling like that . . . but, you know, Father, really I DIDN'T do it. I don't know whose bullet did hit that cop." I believed him. Remote as I was from any direct evidence either way, I believed him. Blaise Pascal once observed how the heart of man has its reasons which reason itself doesn't grasp.

The name of Huey Newton will never let me forget Oakland where he was in jail. There was scarcely a block in the Bay Area where you didn't see a "Free Huey" sign. Or other signs, like "Panther Power," or "Free Huey or the Sky's the Limit" — all of which are geared to rouse black men from their state of stupor and brainwash, and white men from their cool, calm non-challenge of letting white "law and order" do in Huey.

Pardon me, Huey. The last thing I'd want to do is to stuff you unwillingly in the Christian bag. In Catholic circles they talk about the "anonymous Christian." One who claims that he's never really met Christ and yet acts as his disciple is an anonymous Christian. Again, pardon me, Huey, but I do think that your black thing is deeply Christian.

I showed Huey how we Catholics give the hand-and-shoulder embrace at mass. It's called the Kiss of Peace, I told him.

We exchanged this sign of brotherhood. We told each other to "keep on pushing." I left.

(FATHER TAYLOR IS A PRIEST OF THE STEUBENVILLE, OHIO, DIOCESE.)

The Entire Newspaper Staff
joins
The Central Committee
in Wishing

**HUEY P. NEWTON**
**A Happy Birthday**



# HUEY P. NEWTON

## MINISTER OF DEFENSE
## BLACK PANTHER PARTY



# EDITORIAL STATEMENT

By FRANK JONES
Deputy Minister of Information

This week we will have a nationwide celebration for the birthday of our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton. While celebrating Huey's birthday, we must maintain the proper perspective. We cannot allow the success of Huey's birthday weekend to be construed to be as a goal accomplished. The birthday celebration is to symbolize the love and respect that we have for our Minister of Defense and can serve to inspire us in the pursuit of our political goals.

The birthday celebration is a symbol. The substance of our political efforts is freedom - freedom for the oppressed and immediate freedom for Huey P. Newton. We should all unite in wishing Huey a happy birthday and then resolutely seek to give Huey the gift he sought for us - freedom.

FREE HUEY

# HUEY IS MY BROTHER TOO

By Cec Levinson

It has been suggested gently, (as the suggester is a good friend) that I should not write these articles about Huey, but that it would be better if someone from the Party or the Black Community write them. It was a thoughtful, loving suggestion because my friend is a wise, committed fighter for the revolution. She is deeply concerned about the divisions among her people. These conflicts and hostilities [illegible] within her and she fears that a white writing articles about Huey in the Panther paper will widen the schisms between the various Black philosophies. She quotes Malcolm: "There can be no black-white unity until there is first Black unity." I agree!

However, I must answer that "her people" are my people because they are human and I am human and we are of the same tribe. Not later for that because it sounds like romanticism and romanticism isn't realism and a revolutionary must be, at all times, realistic. (Let me sneak in here the thought that revolutionaries are dreamers, too. We dream the biggest, the best dream of all.) Nevertheless, we must be realistic, which means, of course, to look at the world face-to-face, fact-to-fact; to be, above all, political. (WEBSTER: po-lit i cal: Of or pertaining to . . . the conduct of government; as, political theories . . . of or pertaining to the organization or action of individuals, parties, or interests that seek to control the appointment or action of those who manage the affairs of a state.) By the definition of the word, revolutionaries are political, with the additional factor that we desire to CHANGE the present organization so that the action is controlled, not by individuals, parties or interests, but by the people.

What must we be to be able to bring about that change? There are several qualifications essential to a true revolutionary: self-discipline and the ability to accept Party imposed discipline; self-criticism and the ability to accept - the requesting of - the Party's or a comrade's criticism; constant study: learning NOT to adapt the facts to fit the situation. (This leads only to a distortion of the facts, to a dogmatic application of theory, whereas theory must be used as a GUIDE to action, not a static governing of action. We must be dynamic, always moving, changing. We must study thoroughly, separately, every rising development, each given situation and apply those truths, those theories which are applicable to it.

But there are 2 basic qualifications which are the foundation upon which all of the above are built. They are obvious and I'm sure will ignite no ferment of opposition. But each one of us must look to himself honestly, objectively, critically, and ask: Am I really THERE? The first, of course, is commitment to the revolution. Commitment is the result of political knowledge, gleaned from study and experience; complete commitment and ACTIVE involvement. (An intellectual, "arm-chair revolutionary" is simply not a revolutionary). Mao quotes Stalin - RED BOOK, page 231: "theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice" and "practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illumined by revolutionary theory". Two inseparables: theory and practice. Commitment must be based on political knowledge, and the understanding of the economic basis - the NEED in a capitalistic society - for the exploitation of the majority by a minority: PROFIT: the value of a product produced by the workers, in surplus of their wages; the money stolen from the workers and pocketed by the bosses, for THEIR welfare; whereas it should be placed in a People's Fund for the benefit of the people. And action based on this knowledge; not action for the sake of action, but action for the purpose of furthering the cause of revolution; action designed to increase the political consciousness of the working class, increase its knowledge of the enemy and his strategy -particularly his strategy of "divide and conquer"; RACISM- which, in turn, allows him to rule - with 2 distinct sets of rules: one for the conqueror, another for the conquered. The first basic need: total commitment and involvement.

(Before I reveal what I think (what I KNOW) is the second basic qualification, let me share with you - in a sentence - my life philosophy. It is an odd philosophy; the simplest of all philosophies; the core, the seed of truth. The only true life philosophy, so simple that pedants, philosophers in their scholarly speculations dance all around it and never see it. It is truth, blindingly obvious: I believe fervently that although one can learn much from books - facts, statistics, dates - one learns nothing - NOTHING - about people from books. People are, after all, emotional beings, and must be understood emotionally, not intellectually. One doesn't love intellectually. One doesn't "think" people; one "feels" people. One experiences people. And therein lies THE CAUSE: 450 years of separate experiences, separate lives.

Love is a misused, worn-out, decrepit phrase, but it has to be reborn, bundled in the warmth of what is for me its true meaning; the coming together - the touching - of two separate entities into a third whole.

You know it now; perhaps you knew it all the time. The second necessary component of a revolutionary is love for the people. You cannot win without the people and you cannot win the people without love. Too many radicals today spend too much time showering contempt upon the American working people and their "middle-class" values. These endless, wasted hours would be better spent in study, in teaching, in organizing the people without whom their radicalism will come to no fruition. It give one pause to reflect; do they really want change or are they merely seeking attention and the opportunity to mouth pretty, 10-syllable words?

Have I the right - is there a reason for my writing a series of articles expressing my views about Huey and how he and the Panthers affect me, a white revolutionary? Malcolm said that a bridge must be built, a bridge between the black and white communities and Huey said that the Panthers could be that bridge. I must stand ON that bridge and transmit my thoughts and feelings in both directions because I know that the survival of the extremities, on both sides of the bridge, depends on their coming together as 2 autonomies - and touching one another. I know that today it is necessary for a Black Panther Party and an Asian - American Political Alliance and a Brown Berets and a Native American Group and if we're sharp enough, a White Panther Party, but I must fight for the day when we will have not a black, not a white, nor a colorless - but a COLORFUL PARTY.

I have no doubt that someone who knows Huey well can write of him better than I, but I know, too, and will shout the truth of the title of this series: HUEY IS MY BROTHER, TOO! Huey is the brother of all people, if they would but listen, and feel the beauty that is being LOVE.



# AFRICAN PATRIOTIC ARMED STRUGGLE GROWS IN STRENGTH

Only by persevering in armed struggle at home can any nation overthrow hated, vicious colonial rule and win complete national independence and liberation. This is what the broad masses in the African countries, which have yet to achieve independence, have come to grasp profoundly in their protracted struggle against the enemy.

In 1968, the patriotic armed forces of Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique, Angola, the Congo (Kinshasa) and Zimbabwe fought hundreds of battles with Portuguese colonial forces Mobutu's puppet soldiers and the fascist troops of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia - all backed by imperialism headed by the United States. The patriotic armed forces enjoyed the support of the people and, by giving full play to courage in battle and surmounting one difficulty after another, wiped out several thousand enemy troops and extended their sphere of operations in a number of regions. This has greatly boosted the fighting will of the African people. As for the enemy troops, battered incessantly by the patriotic armed forces, morale sank lower and lower and the colonialists found the going in Africa tougher and tougher.

FREEDOM FIGHTERS CREAT

Guinea (Bissau): Freedom fighters expand areas under control. In west Africa, the patriotic armed forces of Guinea (Bissau), fighting guns in hand for more than seven years, pressed on with their victories after having valiantly repulsed the attacks of the Poruguese colonial troops who tried to reoccupy the areas under their control. Beginning from June last year, they won a series of victories in repeated attacks on Portuguese colonial troops entrenched in a number of strongholds in the southern, northern and eastern parts of their country. By October, they had taken ten enemy encampments and strongholds, including Beli, capital city of the Boe region in the east.

The Guinean (Bissau) patriotic armed forces shelled the airport in Bissau, the military and political centre of the Portuguese colonialists in the region, blasting the control tower and three hangars. Two enemy aircraft were destroyed and many damaged. The patriotic forces steadily expanded the areas under their control in the fighting. Apart from Bissau, Bolamo, dos Bijagos and areas on the northern seaboard, reports say, the rest of Guinea (Bissau) has at present virtually come under the control of the patriotic armed forces.

Mozambique: Twelve enemy planes destroyed in one blow. Since their armed uprising in 1964, the patriotic armed forces of Mozambique in east Africa have long controlled vast areas in the two northeastern Provinces of Niassa and Cabo Delgado. During the fighting in 1968, they wiped out more than 1,000 Portuguese colonial troops and extended the fighting from Cabo Delgado and Niassa Provinces to the mineral-rich province of Tete in the west. There they opened a new front and smashed attempts by the Portuguese colonialists to prevent the raging flames of the African people's armed struggle from spreading to the south. On August 10, 1968, the patriotic armed forces mounted an attack on the Portuguese air base in Mueda, destroying 12 enemy aircraft in one blow (see p. 20).

Angola: Over 1,000 colonial troops wiped out in 4 months. The Angolan patriotic armed forces were the first to embark on the road of armed struggle in the Portuguese colonies in Africa. In 1968, they dealt telling blows to the Portuguese colonial troops in the vast eastern and northern areas. From July to October, they wiped out more than 1,000 enemy troops. Units active in the extensive rural areas of Mexico and Cuando Cubango Districts in the southeast and Lunda District in the northeast struck at the enemy incessantly. In the first four months of 1968, they put out of action 2500 Portuguese colonial troops and captured one Portuguese officer.

Congo (K): Armed struggle heroically carried on. Subjected to ruthless suppression by U.S. imperialism and its lackey Mobutu and shamelessly betrayed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, the Congolese (K) patriotic forces heroically carried on their struggle. They recently raided a Mobutu Puppet military outpost in the Kwilu region, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy troops. Their courageous struggle nailed the lie spread by Mobutu, running dog of U.S. imperialism, that the Congolese(K) people's armed struggle has been put down.

Southern Rhodesia: Colonial regime gripped by fear. The frequent operations of the Zimbabwean armed patriots have kept the Smith colonial regime in a state of continuous fear and panic. Shots fired by freedom fighters against South African colonial rule were also heard in South West Africa which is under the tight control of the South African White colonialists. The freedom fighters in South West Africa, reports say, killed 20 of the South African colonial troops in a recent battle.

LEARN WARFARE THROUGH WARFARE

The African patriots learn warfare through warfare. Being constantly tempered in the crucible of fighting, their combat strength has increased and the level of their tactics raised steadily. In many areas, the patriotic armed forces have grown in strength, developing from small contingents of fighters carrying out hit-and-run harassment activities to the concentration of superior forces undertaking planned operations to wipe out enemy effectives. They often apply the tactics of inducing the enemy to go deep into their areas in order to attack and eliminate his troops.

The war has educated the people and the people support the revolutionary war. Chairman Mao's brilliant thought -- the revolutionary war is a war of the masses -- has taken firm root in the minds of the people. More and more African patriots now realize that in their confrontation with the enemy, who is armed to the teeth and enjoys temporary numerical superiority, it is impossible to carry on protracted war or to win victory in the revolutionary war unless attention is paid to mobilizing and relying on the broad masses, particularly the peasant masses who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population in those countries. As it is, a number of African patriots have gone to the rural areas to rouse the masses.

In Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique, Angola and the Congo(K), the patriotic armed forces have set up administrative organs in a number of areas under their control, and in some places they have their own law courts as well. They have also extensively organized militia forces in areas under their control. In some places, the militiamen participate in agricultural production and at the same time assume the duties of defending their villages. They are effective assistants of the guerrillas, serving as guides and messengers, furnishing information and transporting ammunition and supplies.

In some areas, the African patriotic armed forces have helped the people raise their political consciousness by organizing the masses to recall national humiliation at the hands of the alien invaders and denounce the crime of colonial rule. In some areas, number. of African women have actively participated in patriotic activities, not only persuading their near and dear ones to go to the front but asking for permission to bear arms in the armed struggle.

The African patriotic armed forces have also paid attention to increasing production, particularly that of grain, in the areas under their control, so that they can wage a protracted struggle by relying on their own resources. In some places, they have developed the educational and public health serviews. In the areas under their control, for instance, the Guinean (Bissau) patriots have abolished the exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous levies imposed on the people by the colonialists in the past and have opened up wasteland to develop production in a big way. As a result, rice and other grain output has increased and the handicraft industry has also developed. The guerrilla fighters in Mozambique make a point of working in the fields with the local peasants in areas they control. In Some places, the Mozambique armymen and people are able to ship part of their farm produce to neighboring independent countries in exchange for clothing, medicine and other daily necessities. In the eastern part of Angola, the patriotic armed forces have set up peasant's mutual-aid and co-operative organizations and have trained a group of medical workers in areas under their control.

U.S. IMPERIALISM

In their protracted war against colonialism, an increasing number of African people have begun to see things more clearly from their own experience and greatly raised their political consciousness. It is now clear to them that U.S. imperialism is their No. 1 enemy. Facts have made it abundantly clear that it is U.S. imperialism which has directed the Mobutu puppet clique to wantonly suppress the patriotic armed forces and people of the Congo (K). It is the same U.S. imperialism which gives vigorous support to the Portuguese colonialists in waging a barbarous war in Africa and tries to prop up their tottering colonial rule. And again it is the same U.S. imperialism which backs the white racist regimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia to slaughter the African people in cold Blood. These facts have laid bare still further the fiendish features of U.S. imperialism as the most ferocious enemy of the African people.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique, U.S. imperialism's No. 1 accomplice, has spread all kinds of revisionist fallacies far and wide in Africa, to cater to the needs of U.S. imperialism. It has tried to disintegrate the African patriotic armed forces by cajolery and bribery and to undermine the African people's patriotic armed struggle. It is common knowledge that over the years the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has been diabolically engaged in selling out the interest of the congolese(K) and to murder Patrice Lumumba and Strangle the legal Lumumba government. It advocated "reconciliation" between the Congolese(K) revolutionaries and the stooges of U.S. imperialism, trying in a thousand and one ways to sabotage the Congolese people's patriotic armed struggle and split the national-liberation movement in the Congo(K). Recently, this clique "restored diplomatic relations" with the Mobutu puppet regime, U.S. imperialism's running dog and Lumumba's murderer, thus once again ignominiously betraying the Congolese(K) people's revolutionary cause.

The lesson of the temporary reverses of the revolutionary cause in the Congo(K) is a characteristic illustration of the fact that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is another most dangerous enemy of the African people. Therefore, in addition to opposing U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, the African people must wage a resolute struggle against the Soviet revisionist renegade Clique in order to carry the revolution through to the end.

It is precisely because the enemies confronting the revolutionary African people are not only the Portuguese, South African and Southern Rhodesian colonialists but alos U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, enemies who are far more visious and cunning, that the African revolutionary people's struggle is protracted, arduous and at time tortuous. But as Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, has wisely pointed out: "A nation, big or small, can defeat any enemy, however powerful, so long as it fully arouses its people, firmly relies on them and wage a people's war." We are convinced that the African people, who have a long tradition of struggle against imperialism and colonialism, will eventually crush imperialism, revisionism and all the reactionary forces, heavily weighing them down and win NATIONAL LIBERATION and complete emancipation.

# THE TRUE CULTURE OF AFRICA AND AFRICANS



*Patrice Lumumba, martyred leader of the revolutionary struggle in the Congo was a victim of capitalist inspired violence and terrorism in an attempt to stem the tide of the African Revolution. Lumumba is seated here in a jeep, hands bound, just prior to his assassination.*

TODAY the revolutionary people of the Congo (K), Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe and other places are carrying on life-and-death armed struggles against imperialism and its lackeys. Some of them have already established rural revolutionary base areas, while others are intensifying their armed activities and dealing powerful blows at the enemy.

The Congo (K) declared its independence in 1960. U.S. imperialism, hand in glove with Soviet revisionism, hastily sent in U.S.-controlled aggressive armed forces under the flag of "the United Nations troops". The countless crimes of these aggressive troops include suppressing the patriotic forces, murdering the national hero Lumumba, subverting the legitimate government and installing a puppet regime. During those days of grave national disaster, patriotic armed forces of Kwilu in the western part of the Congo (K) kindled the fire of patriotic armed struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their puppets. Burning furiously, its flames spread to the north-eastern and eastern parts of the country. While summing up their experiences and lessons in the last year and more, some leaders of the patriotic armed forces have come to realize the important significance of establishing a revolutionary political party, an army and a united front led by the revolutionary political party. Now, the patriotic armed forces have established revolutionary political power on the western front and expanded the struggle to the east and south of the base area.

Since launching an armed uprising in September 1964, the people of Mozambique have set up active base areas in two northern provinces and launched a struggle in a province in the northwest. They make frequent attacks on isolated strongholds of the enemy while constantly ambushing enemy patrols. Since the beginning of this year, the freedom fighters have been consistently winning new victories. The Portuguese colonialist troops, badly beaten, are frightened to death.

In Angola, the people have persisted in armed struggle for eight years. They have established some active base areas in the Cabinda area and in the eastern part of the country where they are now carrying on armed activities. In late February this year, guerrilla forces triumphantly smashed the Portuguese colonial army barracks at a certain place.

The anti-imperialist armed struggle in Guinea (Bissau) started in 1961. Although the Portuguese colonialists, supported by U.S. imperialism, tried viciously to crush the local patriotic armed forces, the patriotic people, far from being suppressed, have resolutely continued to hold high the banner of armed struggle and are fighting on heroically. Their armed forces have liberated almost two-thirds of the country's territory. Moreover, constantly seizing the offensive, they have attacked Portuguese colonialist troops entrenched in a number of strongholds. Meanwhile in the territory under their own control, they have set up various



Patriotic freedom fighters of Angola engage in military training in an active base area. The Patriotic Armed Forces of Angola, which have persisted in armed struggle for eight years, are constantly developing and growing stronger.

# The True Culture of Africa and Africans

mass fighting organizations, developed production and expanded cultural and educational activities.

In April, 1966 the people of Zimbabwe also raised high the banner of armed struggle. For the last two years and more they have been smashing the military "encirclement and suppression" campaigns waged by the Smith white colonialist authorities with the support of the British and U.S. imperialists. They have strengthened their own forces in the struggle.

The raging flames of anti-imperialist struggle waged by the African people have now spread to South Africa. For example, since August 1966, the freedom fighters of Southwest Africa have engaged in vigorous armed resistance, killing many colonialist troops. So long as the broad masses of the African people, taking the road of armed struggle, maintain unity and persist in protracted struggle, no matter what the difficulties and hardships, they will surely drive imperialism and colonialism out of Africa.

Patriotic armed fighters of Guinea (Bissau). The patriotic armed forces have stepped up attacks on the Portuguese colonialist troops occupying southern, northern and eastern parts of the country and extended the fighting to Bissau, the main den of the colonialists in "Portuguese" Guinea. This has dealt the enemy a telling blow.



Below: Freedom fighters of Mozambique go in for vigorous military training in preparation for destroying the enemy more effectively. They carry out guerrilla tictics of making sudden attacks on isolated enemy strongholds and ambushing patrols of the Portuguese colonialist troops. Since the beginning of this year, they have won new victories continually and the colonialist troops have been severely beaten.

Lower right: Freedom fighters of Mozambique engage in production as well as in armed struggle. Harvesting maize which they themselves have raised.



A guerrilla unit of the Guinean (Bissau) patriotic armed forces. Through armed struggle the guerrilla areas are gradually being expanded.





# THE TRUE CULTURE OF AFRICA AND AFRICANS



**The Angolan patriotic armed forces have persisted in struggle for eight years, wiping out great number of Portuguese colonialist troops. At present, the areas where the guerrillas control and carry their actions are daily widening.**
**Above: Guerrilla fighters conducting military drill in base area.**
**Below: Guerrilla fighters practising shooting.**

## 5th Anniversary of the Zanzibar Revolution

Eliel Paul Mwaluko, Ambassador of the United Republic of Tanzania to China, gave a reception in Peking on January 11, to mark the 5th anniversary of the Zanzibar Revolution.

Present on the occasion were Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and leading members of the government department concerned and of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

In his speech at the reception, Ambassador Mwaluko described the significance of the Zanzibar people's armed revolution and their achievements in construction after the victory of the revolution. The Ambassador warmly greeted the success of China's new hydrogen bomb test. He said: This great victory is a fruitful result of the great proletarian cultural revolution being carried out under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao. We rejoice over China's victories and achievements just as if they are our own.

Speaking of China's aid to his country, the Ambassador said: The sincere aid provided by China to Tanzania has increased our revolutionary courage and confidence. We are very grateful to Chairman Mao and the Chinese Government.

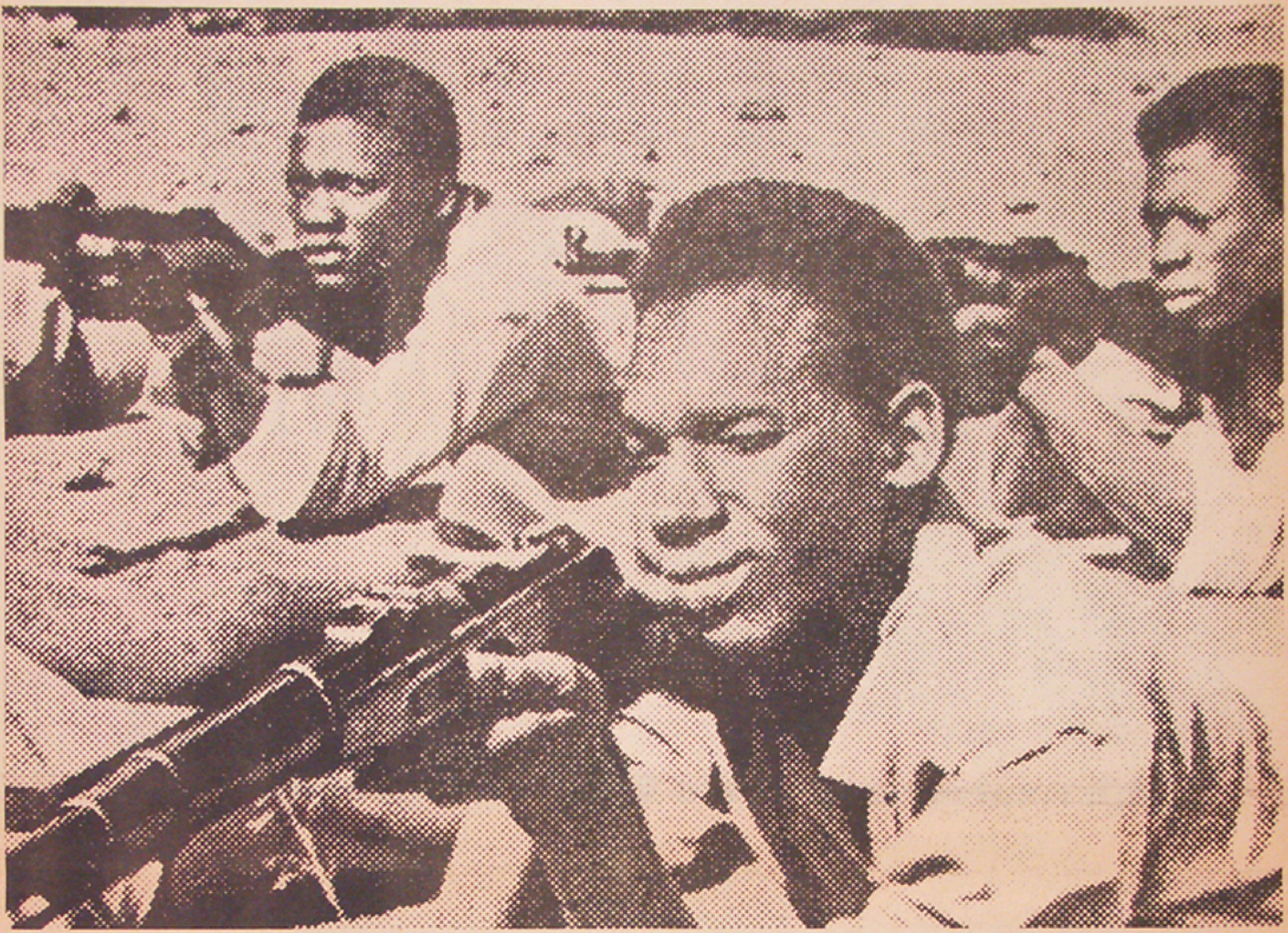
Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Chi Peng-fei, in his speech, paid tribute to the Zanzibar people who bravely took up arms and waged an armed struggle to oppose the reactionary rule of imperialism and its running dogs and finally won national independence. He also paid tribute to the Tanzanian people who, under the leadership of President Nyerere, have in the past five years scored one achievement after another in the struggle to safe-guard national independence and in building their country.

Chi Peng-fei added: The great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The world revolution has entered a great new era." We are deeply convinced that in this new year, the people of Tanzania and other countries in Africa will win new victories in their anti-imperialist struggles, and that there will be a new development in the friendly relations between the Chinese and Tanzanian peoples.



# THE TRUE CULTURE OF AFRICA AND AFRICANS

Fighters of the Congolese (K) patriotic armed forces give full play to the spirit of daring to fight and scorning difficulties. They train hard to develop their ability to destroy the enemy, and are determined to defeat U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in the Congo (K).



Patriotic armed fighters of the Congo (K) on the western front.



# OCTOBER 1966 BLACK PANTHER PARTY PLATFORM AND PROGRAM

## WHAT WE WANT

## WHAT WE BELIEVE







1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

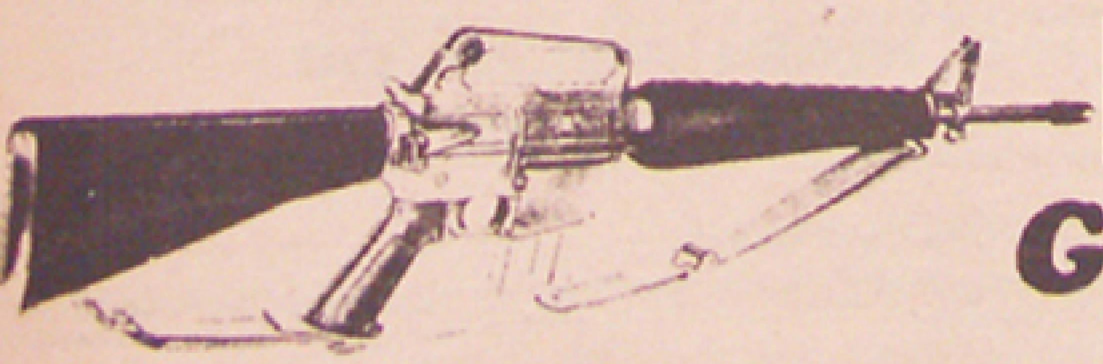
9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



# FREE HUEY NOW

## GUNS BABY GUNS



# HUEY NEWTON
# MINISTER OF DEFENSE
# BLACK PANTHER PARTY


## THE BLACK PANTHER

BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY
BY THE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY


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# RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

## CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
## OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA..

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY WERE VIOLATED.

Every member of the party must know these verbatum by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

### THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leader Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. COMMUNICATIONS — all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

## 8 POINTS OF ATTENTION

1) Speak politely.
2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
3) Return everything you borrow.
4) Pay for anything you damage.
5) Do not hit or swear at people.
6) Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.
7) Do not take liberties with women.
8) If we ever have to take captives do not ill-treat them.

## 3 MAIN RULES OF DISCIPLINE

1) Obey orders in all your actions.
2) Do not take a single needle or a piece of thread from the poor and oppressed masses.
3) Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy.



# SOUL ON ICE?

**"IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL THE QUESTION OF THE PRISONER'S DEBT TO SOCIETY VERSUS SOCIETY'S DEBT TO THE PRISONER IS INJECTED FORCEFULLY INTO NATIONAL AND STATE POLITICS, INTO THE CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS STRUGGLE, AND INTO THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE BODY POLITIC. IT IS AN EXPLOSIVE ISSUE WHICH GOES TO THE VERY ROOT OF AMERICA'S SYSTEM OF JUSTICE, THE STRUCTURE OF CRIMINAL LAW, THE PREVAILING BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD A CONVICTED FELON." (SOUL ON ICE, P.59)**

Eldridge Cleaver made the decision to politically exile himself November 27th, on the basis that the Adult Authority made an outlaw decision, and that he has been denied his constitutional right to due process of law.

**The revocation of Cleaver's parole was illegal, because no parole violation was committed.**

The Adult Authority parole board has tried to maintain that Cleaver violated his parole by having a rifle in his possession, and by associating with individuals of bad reputation. This contention, we will show, is false. The Adult Authority version contradicts the Superior Court order itself:

". . . Cleaver's only handling of a firearm (the rifle) was in obedience to a police command. He did not handle a hand gun at all. There was nothing one way or the other to show a conspiracy or a situation calling for the application of the doctrine of aiding and abetting. Hence, nothing supported either the possession of a firearm or the assault charge.

As to the charge of association with individuals of bad reputation, the report indicated that two or three of those named had "police records," but nothing to show whether any had been convicted of anything, or whether Cleaver knew of their arrest record." (Superior Court c.t. 137, 138, 140, 141.)

**Parolee Cleaver was denied due process of law by being denied opportunity to present his case.**

Why was Cleaver returned to prison as a parole violator if documented evidence to the contrary had been presented in his defense? To answer that question, one must examine the Adult Authority. This board has the right to arbitrarily revoke or suspend parole on any individual. At the same time, the Adult Authority maintains—falsely—that Cleaver has the opportunity to defend himself at a hearing. This is how it works:

"A parolee is served with violation charges, is interviewed, is given a hearing (before the Adult Authority itself, the charging party) at which the parolee may 'plead' to the parole violation charges, and is afforded an opportunity to present his defense."

"At the 'hearing' a parolee is denied the right to counsel, may not have an independent and impartial officer to conduct the hearing and make decision." (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 17)

Not only does the Adult Authority hold secret hearings, but it also refuses to notify persons under its jurisdiction of its procedures, or of its variable definitions of what constitutes a parole violation. This secrecy and vagueness is in direct violation of federal law which requires agencies to publish their procedures "for guidance of the public."

"Petitioner (Cleaver) is immediately and seriously prejudiced by the Adult Authority's unlawful refusal to publish its regulations, since he is to be imprisoned by virtue of an action which the Adult Authority still seeks to garb in this 'veil of secrecy.' (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 12)

Yes, the Adult Authority acted unjustly and illegally. Its decision was an outlaw decision. Cleaver had no chance of obtaining "justice" from these Star Chamber proceedings. Why then wouldn't the U.S. Supreme Court hear Cleaver's case? There are, we believe, three reasons why the case wasn't accepted. The first is that any fair minded court would obviously have released Cleaver, thereby setting a precedent. The second is that thousands of cases of alleged parole violation from all over California and other states would be subject to reversal. Thirdly, the illegal functioning of the Adult Authority would come under attack. The U.S. Supreme Court just couldn't afford to consider the Cleaver case during this turbulent period.

Eldridge Cleaver is a victim of naked, shameless political persecution. As Judge Sherwin puts it:

". . . The uncontradicted evidence presented to this court indicated that the petitioner had been a model parolee. The peril to his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing political goals, goals which were offensive to many of his contemporaries. Not only was there absence of cause for the cancellation of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure unbecoming, to say the least, to the law enforcement paraphernalia of this state."

**Cleaver is in political exile because a man of his convictions cannot get justice here. Indeed, if we are to give more than lip service to the concepts of freedom and justice we must support him. The work to get him discharged from parole must continue. An intense publicity campaign is necessary now to bring to the public the legal defense and arguments which were carried to the courts with no satisfaction. We must all work together to focus attention of this case. This is not an issue of one man's freedom, but a broad struggle which affirms the right of all of us to speak out politically in this country. If Cleaver is not allowed his freedom, it is just a matter of time until all our freedoms are further reduced. His is not a personal struggle but a political one.**

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ICDEC, 495 Beach Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94133

Robert Scheer, Director

# Breakfast for School Children

OAKLAND, California -- The National Advisory Cabinet to the Black Panther Party is working with and for St.Augustine Episcopal Church's program: breakfast in the morning for Oakland's school children in the black community.

All children in grammar schools and growing young adults in Junior High Schools can receive free, FULL BREAKFASTS in the mornings before they go to school. The first of there breakfasts will exist one hour before school hours at St. Augustine's Church, 27th and West, and the Black Community Center, at 42nd and Grove Streets, EVERY SCHOOL MORNING.

The National Advisory Cabinet and church members are calling on all mothers and others who want to work with this revolutionary program of making sure that our young have full stomachs before going to school. The schools and the Board of Education should have had this program instituted a long time ago. How can our children learn anything when most of their stomachs are empty? Black people in the Black Community-mothers, welfare recipients, grandmothers, guardians, and others who are trying to raise children in the black community where racists oppress us - are asked to come forth to work and support this needed program. Soul food: grits, eggs, bread, and meat for the stomachs is where it's at when it comes to properly preparing our children for education. LET'S DO IT NOW. Support this community program.

Those who want to volunteer their work every morning or every other morning can come to the BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS at 3106 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley or contact Father Niel at these numbers: 534-6684, 893-1016. Interested persons may also contact Ruth Beckford Smith at 893-8211 or sign up with other community peoples and citizens for full stomachs and better education of black children.

We urge as many mothers and other black citizens as possible to unite with this COMMUNITY-BLACK PANTHER PROGRAM. We are also asking all businesses throughout the black community to donate the necessary food and utensils to prepare the foods for our children. Call the Black Panther Office at 845-0103 or 845-0104. Everything of value donated to BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN is tax deductable. Items or funds may be sent c/o St. Augustine Episcopal Church. Just let us know, both black and white communities and citizens, what you can donate in money, time, etc.

Thank you

BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

I WOULD LIKE TO DONATE
SEND DONATIONS TO ST. AUGUSTINE'S
EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 2624 WEST ST., OAKLAND

☐ Money Enclosed is $__________
☐ Time
☐ Food or Utensils-State Kind and Quantity Below

If Business include for your tax exemption __________

Name __________

Address __________ City __________

State __________ Zip __________

MAKE CHECKS TO: BFSC—ST. AUGUSTINES CHURCH

# COMING IN FEBRUARY . . .

# A NATIONWIDE BIRTHDAY WEEKEND CELEBRATION FOR HUEY P. NEWTON

# POCKET LAWYER OF LEGAL FIRST AID

This pocket lawyer is provided as a means of keeping black people up to date on their rights. We are always the first to be arrested and the racist police forces are constantly trying to pretend that rights are extended equally to all people. Cut this out, brothers and sisters, and carry it with you. Until we arm ourselves to righteously take care of our own, the pocket lawyer is what's happening.

1. If you are stopped and/or arrested by the police, you may remain silent; you do not have to answer any questions about alleged crimes, you should provide your name and address only if requested (although it is not absolutely clear that you must do so.) But then do so, and at all time remember the fifth amendment.

2. If a police officer is not in uniform, ask him to show his identification. He has no authority over you unless he properly identifies himself. Beware of persons posing as police officers. Always get his badge number and his name.

3. Police have no right to search your car or your home unless they have a search warrant, probable cause or your consent. They may conduct no exploratory search, that is, one for evidence of crime generally or for evidence of a crime unconnected with the one you are being questioned about. (Thus, a stop for an auto violation does not give the right to search the auto.) You are not required to consent to a search; therefore, you should not consent and should state clearly and unequivocally that you do not consent, in front of witnesses if possible. If you do not consent, the police will have the burden in court of showing probably cause. Arrest may be corrected later.

4. You may not resist arrest forcibly or by going limp, even if you are innocent. To do so is a separate crime of which you can be convicted even if you are acquitted of the original charge. Do not resist arrest under any circumstances.

5. If you are stopped and/or arrested, the police may search you by patting you on the outside of your clothing. You can be stripped of your personal possessions. Do not carry anything that includes the name of your employer or friends.

7. Do not engage in "friendly" conversation with officers on the way to or at the station. Once you are arrested, there is little likelihood that anything you say will get you released.

8. As soon as you have been booked, you have the right to complete at least two phone calls—one to a relative, friend or attorney, the other to a bail bondsman. If you can, call the Black Panther Party, 845-0103 (845-0104), and the Party will post bail if possible

9. You must be allowed to hire and see an attorney immediately.

10. You do not have to give any statement to the police, nor do you have to sign any statement you might give them, and therefore you should not sign anything. Take the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, because you cannot be forced to testify against yourself.

11. You must be allowed to post bail in most cases, but you must be able to pay the bail bondsmen's fee. If you cannot pay the fee, you may ask the judge to release you from custody without bail or to lower your bail, but he does not have to do so.

12. The police must bring you into court or release you within 48 hours after your arrest (unless the time e?ds on a week-end or a holiday, and they must bring you before a judge the first day court is in session.)

13. If you do no' have the money to hire an attorney, immediately ask the police to get you an attorney without charge.

14. If you have the money to hire a private attorney, but do not know of one, call the National Lawyers' Guild or the Alameda County Bar Association (or the Bar Association of your county) and furnish you with the name of an attorney who practices criminal law.



## MINISTER OF DEFENSE

Please Clip and Mail to:

**HUEY P. NEWTON DEFENSE FUND**
P. O. BOX 318
BERKELEY, CALIF. 94701

Name ____________
address ____________ city ____________
I Pledge $ ____________
Enclosed You Will Find $ ____________

## REMEMBER BROTHER MALCOM

**Born, May 19, 1925**



**Assassinated, Feb. 21, 1965**

## HUEY POSTER $1.00



**MINISTRY OF INFORMATION**
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

## NEEDED: TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT

MINISTER OF DEFENSE, HUEY P. NEWTON SAYS: "THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE IS GREATER THAN THE MAN'S TECHNOLOGY."

BUT TO MOST EFFECTIVELY COMBAT THE INJUSTICES OF THE PIG-STRUCTURE, THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE SHOULD LEAD THEM TO DEVELOP TECHNOLOGY GREATER THAN THE "MAN'S!" THEN WE WILL MINIMIZE OUR LOSSES WHILE WE WAGE THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE)

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND ALLIES IN THE REVOLUTION – WE NEED ALL TYPES OF

**TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT:**

FOR DEFENSE
FOR FINANCING
FOR OFFICE WORK
FOR TRANSPORTATION
FOR HEALTH AND FIRST AID

INTERESTED PARTIES SHOULD ADDRESS CORRESPONDENCE TO:

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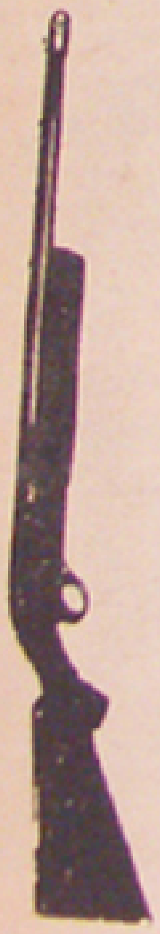
## BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

Effective January 20th
7:30 am till 9:30 am
Monday thru Friday
at the
St. Augustine's Episcopal Church
2624 West St. Oakland.
for information
call Father Neil at 534-6684
or
893-1016
Ruth Beckford Smith at 893-8211
or inquire at
Black Panther Party
National Headquarters
3106 Shattuck St.,
Berkeley, Calif.

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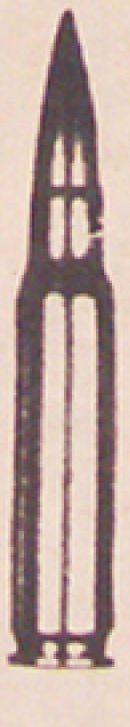
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## ESSAYS

FROM THE
**MINISTER OF DEFENSE**
by
## HUEY P. NEWTON

WITH FORCEFUL INTRODUCTION BY
**GEORGE MURRAY**
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# HAPPY BIRTHDAY HUEY